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ABSTRACT

This study examined how social interaction norms and promotion and tenure norms effected job satisfaction, focusing on how these variables effected on underrepresented faculty at a predominantly white, four-year, public, urban university. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of nine faculty (white male, white female, and female and male faculty of color), all with eight or fewer years of service at the institution. Several norms emerged from interview questions relating to issues of social interaction and reward systems, including rank-based hierarchy, silence of untenured faculty, middle class culture, individualism, collegiality, the professorial image, the importance of grants and publications, and inadequate salaries. The implications of these norms are discussed in relation to job satisfaction among majority- and minority-group faculty. Recommendations for improving underrepresented faculty satisfaction and retention are included. An appendix provides copies of the original interview protocol, a follow-up interview protocol, and a revised protocol for future interviews. (Contains 46 references.) (MDM)

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ED 418 622

A Preliminary Report on the Impact of Social Interaction Norms and Reward System Norms on Underrepresented Faculty at a Four-Year Public Urban University

Presented as a poster at the Association for the Study of Higher Education
Memphis, October 1996

by Annie Gubitosi

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Abstract

In this qualitative single-institution case study of full-time instructional faculty at a predominately white, public urban university, cultural norms are examined to see how they impact underrepresented faculty. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are the primary source of data in this study. The preliminary results include the identification of social interaction norms and reward system norms, and the implications these norms have for underrepresented faculty. These preliminary results indicate that underrepresented faculty experience these norms differently than majority faculty, and that underrepresented faculty are often marginalized by these norms. The social interaction and promotion and tenure norms identified include the following: rank-based hierarchy, untenured faculty silence, middle class culture, individualism, collegiality, the typical professor image, the importance of grants and publications, and inadequate pay. Recommendations for improving underrepresented faculty satisfaction and retention are provided.

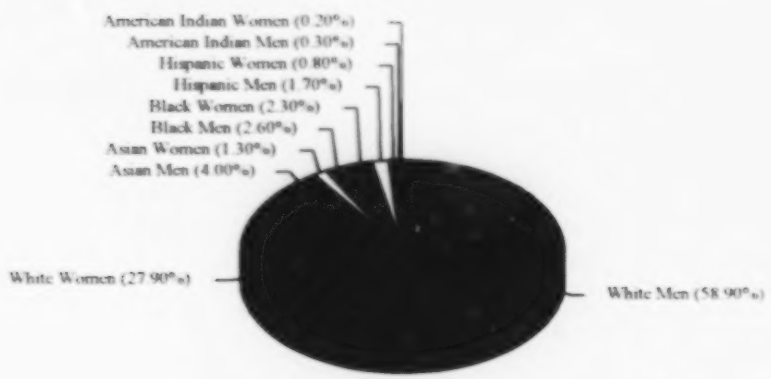
Introduction

For many years now, numerous universities throughout the United States have tried to build more welcoming climates on their campuses for white women and people of color. Despite these efforts, a vast discrepancy in faculty representation still exists. The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac (1995) cites a U.S. Department of Education study showing that nationwide, white male faculty currently hold 58.9% of all full-time instructional faculty positions, while white female faculty hold 27.9%, and male and female faculty of color hold 13.2% (see Figure 1 below for further breakdown of faculty of color). Male and female faculty of color are clearly underrepresented in the academy. White female faculty are also considered by faculty retention researchers to be underrepresented because, despite holding 27.9% of all full-time instructional positions, many are concentrated in the lower ranks and are without tenure (Tack and Patitu, 1992).

Tenured faculty have a significant influence on campus culture and climate through their influence on curriculum, as facilitators of the classroom experience, and by serving as teachers, mentors, advisors and role models (Green, 1989). Consequently, efforts targeted at increasing the number of currently underrepresented tenured faculty may be effective at improving equity in a university campus overall. However, recruiting qualified underrepresented faculty is only the first step in addressing the discrepancy in representation. Underrepresented faculty retention efforts are as important as recruitment efforts because even the most successful recruitment strategies are futile if faculty are not satisfied and do not stay.

Figure 1

Full-Time Faculty in the Academy



Taken from the Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, 1996. Data includes all public, private, 2-year, religious and specialized colleges and excludes medical schools, except for those at public and private doctoral institutions.

Specific Research Interest

The results from a 1995 pilot study indicate that social interaction and faculty reward processes are among the most critical factors of those described in the retention literature (Gubitosi, 1995). This study, therefore, specifically focuses on examining how social interaction norms and promotion and tenure norms impact faculty job satisfaction and retention. The first major question of this study asks what the social interaction and reward system norms are at this university. The second question asks if majority and underrepresented faculty experience these norms differently. The third question asks, if if these norms are experienced differently, are underrepresented faculty marginalized by these norms? The overall goal of this study is to provide a framework for understanding identified cultural norms and how they impact satisfaction and retention, and to provide recommendations for improving faculty satisfaction and retention.

Literature Highlights

Martha Tack and Carol Patitu (1992) describe many reasons why underrepresented faculty are dissatisfied with their jobs and look for employment outside academia, including: feelings of isolation, encountering prejudice and discrimination, lower salaries, lower professional ranks, and lack of tenured status. Scholars writing in this area have identified the many distinct problems that underrepresented faculty face, and many have suggested that these problems arise from subtle discrimination in academic structures (Hersi, 1993; Tack and Patitu, 1992; Sutherland, 1990; Menges and Exum, 1983; Hall and Sandler, 1982). One variable that is not often addressed in the faculty retention literature

is the identification of the specific cultural norms that form the basis of subtle discrimination, which is why this study focuses on examining cultural norms.

Defining culture is central to cultural studies analysis. Culture has been defined as a historically transmitted system of values and beliefs about expected norms of behavior, which must be met to be considered in good standing (Porter and Samovar, 1994). Cultural values make up a system upon which resources are allocated, such as how much respect we give to colleagues, how much we value their work, how we dole out office space or funding. The very nature of culture is that it operates as "business as usual," and as a result, the cultural values upon which we operate are often invisible to us and go unnoticed (Porter and Samovar, 1994; Schein, 1985). Cultural studies analysis is a process of identifying how individuals or groups of people are marginalized when they do not meet expectations of what is "normal." (Nelson, Treichler, and Grossberg, 1992).

William Tierney (1993) has written extensively on the topic of cultural differences in higher education. In *Building Communities of Difference*, Tierney (1993) asserts that the power of the "norm" prevents the valuing of differences. He explains that images of what is normal put us in the position of labeling, and that when labeling, we associate images of negative characteristics to an entire group. Privileged groups of people are those who fit the "normal" image and are seen as whole individuals instead of being stereotyped in negative ways. Tierney's example is that we see "lesbian" and "Native American", but we do not see "heterosexual woman" or "Caucasian". If one is normal, then the other is abnormal. Furthermore, social interaction involves processing the mental images that others project onto us. This processing is called the Pygmalion dynamic

(Cooperrider, 1990; Rosenthal and Rubin, 1978), which is a self-fulfilling prophesy where we come to see ourselves in relation to how others see us. The Pygmalian dynamic is explained further in the Emerging Norms and Implications section, below.

Methods

The following methods section includes information on the overall research design of the study, the research sample, and data analysis procedures.

Research Design

Qualitative methods were chosen for this study because qualitative studies are best suited to the following types of research: research that delves into the depth of complexities and processes; research on informal and unstructured linkages and processes in organizations; and research for which relevant variables have yet to be identified (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Examining culture is the central goal of this study which requires these types of research. In this study, semi-structured interviews, 90 to 120 minutes in length, with follow-up interviews 30 to 60 minutes in length, are the primary source of data. Examples of the original interview protocol, a follow-up interview protocol, and a revised protocol for future interviews are provided (Appendix A).

Research Subjects

This study employs purposeful sampling, using the *maximum variation technique* described by Patton (1987). Patton describes that the logic of purposeful sampling is to get "information-rich cases...from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the evaluation," as opposed to "gathering little information

from a large, statistically significant sample (Patton, 1987, p. 52)." Maximum variation sampling is a type of purposeful sampling that describes, "central themes...that cut across a great deal of participant...variation." Patton further describes:

> For small samples a great deal of heterogeneity can be a problem because individual cases are so different from each other. The maximum variation sampling strategy turns that apparent weakness into a strength by applying the following logic: Any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in a capturing the core experiences and central, shared aspects or impacts of a program (Patton, 1987, p. 53).

The diverse characteristics for constructing the sample in this study are based on sex, race, and ethnicity differences. Thus, this sample includes: white female faculty (underrepresented), white male faculty (majority), and female and male faculty of color (underrepresented). Among the faculty of color, a representation of Asian, African American, Hispanic and Native American racial and ethnic backgrounds are included. Because there are so few numbers of some of these groups at the institution studied, the specific numbers of men and women in each group cannot be given as that information could potentially threaten anonymity. Comparisons are only made between underrepresented faculty and majority faculty for the same reasons, except for a few distinctions about faculty of color interviewees as a whole. Comparisons between faculty of color sub-groups could also put anonymity at risk. The sample includes at least one man or woman from each sub-group, and representation among sub-groups group is fairly evenly distributed. In addition, all interviewees have eight years of service or less to control for institutional changes over longer periods of time. They also represent a wide range of disciplines. Analysis to date includes data from nine interviewees. Final analysis

will include data from at least five additional interviewees. All participants are targeted to be interviewed by the end of Fall, 1996.

It is important to note that no attempt was made to vary the sample across different socioeconomic backgrounds. However, issues of class emerged in the study in terms of cultural norms, where faculty having been raised with different class backgrounds came to the university with differing beliefs and values based on their class cultural experiences. Thus, class differences are addressed as one of the emerging norms in this study.

Data Analysis Procedures

Interviews are taped, then transcribed and coded for themes. Data analysis is conducted on an ongoing basis for several reasons identified by Miles and Huberman (1984). First, it allows fieldworkers to think about the existing data and generate strategies for collecting better quality data. Second, it can be an opportunity for correcting built-in blind spots. Third it makes the analysis process more engaging. Finally it facilitates the production of interim reports, such as this one. Three ongoing analysis techniques suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984) are used in this study. One is the contact summary sheet, which is a reflective summary of the field experience upon reviewing the transcript and fieldnotes. The contact summary sheet also includes questions to pursue in the next contact. The second technique is coding field notes, which is used to categorize the text into emerging themes. The third technique is memoing, which is writing-up ideas about the relationships between codes (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Interview notes specifically include comments about how "the research plan has

been affected by the data collected," and how the researcher has been influenced by the data (Bogdan and Biklen, p. 107). The analysis is driven by Cultural Studies theory, which is a cross-disciplinary examination of the power and politics in everyday practices and symbols (Alasuutari, 1995).

Emerging Norms and Implications

The Emerging Norms and Implications section is essentially the results and analysis section, which includes the social interaction and reward system norms that have thus far been identified. This section also includes the implications that these observed norms have on both majority and underrepresented faculty. Attention is also given to faculty resistance to social norms, which is one way of how faculty commonly counteract cultural marginalization.

Much of the analysis of how these norms impact majority and underrepresented faculty is based on the notion of the Pygmalian dynamic which, as previously mentioned, is a self-fulfilling prophesy where we come to see ourselves in relation to how others see us. The Pygmalian dynamic has been studied hundreds of times (Rosenthal and Rubin, 1978), and David Cooperrider describes a classic example of its impact in a classroom setting where

> ...teachers are led to believe on the basis of 'credible' information that some of their students possess exceptionally high potential while others do not....Unknown to the teachers, however, is the fact that the so-called high-potential students were selected at random; in objective terms, all students groupings were equivalent in potential and are merely dubbed as high, regular, or low potential. Then, as the experiment unfolds, differences quickly emerge, not on the basis of any innate intelligence factor or some other predisposition but solely on the basis of the manipulated expectancy of the teacher. Over time, subtle changes among students evolve into clear

> differences as the high-[positive image] students begin to significantly overshadow all others in actual achievement (Cooperrider, 1990, p. 100).

The Pygmalian dynamic shows that the way in which others perceive us can have a strong influence on our positive or negative experiences within an organization. This study focuses on identifying the norms of a given culture because norms play an important role in the Pygmalian dynamic in that they set the standards which we are measured against. Those who differ from the norm are particularly vulnerable to being seen and projected negatively.

Several norms emerged from interview questions relating to issues of social interaction and reward systems. These included the following: Rank-Based Hierarchy, Untenured Faculty Silence, Middle Class Culture, Individualism, Collegiality, the Professor Image, the Importance of Grants and Publications, and Inadequate Salaries. Each of these norms are discussed in detail, below.

Rank-Based Hierarchy

Interviews to date suggest that the tenure track ranking system, combined with the length of time a faculty member serves within a department, create a norm of "rank-based hierarchy." Interviewees describe that to follow this rank-based hierarchy is to defer their own authority to tenured faculty members' opinions, and to consult with tenured facu.ty before taking unprecedented actions. One interviewee reports, "Taking action of some sort is immediately considered too much because I am supposed to respect the existing hierarchy...I am supposed to be quiet and wise and listen and learn." Untenured faculty report feeling particularly fearful that if they do not defer to their senior colleagues they

will negatively impact their own chances for tenure. Many untenured interviewees give examples of feeling like an "outcast" and being seen as "suspicious" when they took action without such consultation or deference.

Resistance to the rank-based social hierarchy can be seen in that the most significant faculty relationships are typically between individuals with equal social power. When asked about their most important work relationships, all interviewees described situations where they had made the strongest connections with people having equal power relations in the institutional hierarchy. The next most important relationship interviewees reported was with the department chair, because this person typically has the potential to meet the needs of the interviewee in terms of workload, resource allocation, and representation on controversial issues. As this interviewee explains:

> The relationship with the Chair being good is helpful for a new person, especially if you are trying to say, 'You know, I need relief from a particular assignment of sort.' Feeling like you can go and say that to the Chair and getting him to listen to you is useful.

Although good relations with the department chair brings a sense of comfort, the close friend with equal social status is the most significant relationship because of the "safety" that he or she provides by being someone the faculty member can be "completely real with," or "vent" frustrations typically not shared with someone of higher social power. One interviewee describes, "My most important [work] relationship is with my colleague who is also my friend, with whom I can have intellectual discussions, also share what I really think about things, and really talk."

Interviews to date support that one way in which faculty of unequal status attempt to bridge the gap of the rank-based hierarchy is to create an informal social setting. The

most common way of doing this is to "go for coffee" or "go for lunch". In this informal setting, it is more acceptable for the individual(s) with less social power to not defer to their higher ranked colleague(s). The informal setting of "having coffee" does not necessarily wipe out existing hierarchies, but it is hypothesized in this study that it plays down formal hierarchies so that important connections can be made even among people with varying social status. One interviewee reported that just knowing she could "go to coffee" with certain people in her department made her feel secure and connected.

Implications of Rank-Based Hierarchy

Although both majority and underrepresented faculty are influenced by rank-based hierarchy, the data suggest that this norm impacts underrepresented faculty differently than majority faculty, as described below in Untenured Faculty Silence.

Untenured Faculty Silence

Rank-based hierarchies strongly influence the social norm of "untenured faculty silence". Many untenured respondents report not speaking up on controversial department issues out of fear of making the tenured faculty within their department angry. When asked about having voice within the department, one interviewee responded, "Yeah, as much as an untenured faculty can. [As an untenured faculty] you have to be careful about how much of a voice you have...not that they say I have to, but the implication is that if I [upset anyone], I won't get tenure." Untenured faculty members who have spoken out on controversial issues report that they have found themselves in "hot water", having gone against the expected norm of deference.

Implications of Untenured Faculty Silence

Underrepresented faculty interviewees who are untenured show a pattern of having more difficulty with this cultural norm than untenured majority faculty. Based on the interviews to date, it appears that the very social injustices that have created situations where underrepresented faculty are few in numbers to begin with, such as racism, sexism, or other "isms", may play important roles in motivating underrepresented faculty to become a faculty member in the first place. These same injustices lead many underrepresented faculty to work toward social justice. One interviewee explains, "A lot of times people end up in research areas that are personally relevant to them, so that they have a personal investment in it." Consequently, it also appears based on existing data that untenured underrepresented faculty experience a "Catch-22" situation where, if they speak out on controversial issues within the department, they risk going against the expected norm of deference and risk hurting what are sometimes already fragile relations. On the other hand, if they don't speak out on controversial issues relating to social injustices, such as those that inspired them to become academics, they risk building up an accumulated number of circumstances where they feel alienated, and experience mistrust and hostility within their department. In reference to the norm of untenured faculty silence, which highlights a tone of mistrust, one interviewee explains, "I don't speak out about it, but the fact that the students support me is a way of putting it in their face....It is antagonizing to them [referring to the faculty]...I don't know if I have a snowball's chance in hell of getting tenured." Although majority faculty indicate support for social

justice issues, majority faculty interviewees do not indicate a pattern of being psychologically burdened by the norm of untenured faculty silence. Again, this may be because majority faculty are less likely to embody social injustice issues in the same way that underrepresented faculty might.

Middle Class Culture

The interviews to date indicate that middle class culture is the dominant class cultural norm among faculty at this university, although this varies from department to department. This assertion is based on the fact that interviewees who say they have been raised with middle class or upper middle class culture do not describe experiencing class culture conflicts. However, those who say they have been raised with poor, working class, or wealthy class cultures report class culture conflicts at this institution. Some characteristics of middle class culture, which are not necessarily norms of other class cultures include: being nice, avoiding controversial and emotional issues, and having a sense of individual aspiration (Equity Institute, 1995).

Literature on class culture indicate that many Americans are bi-cultural regarding class, and can relate to the norms of various class cultures, but it is typical that individuals have one dominant class culture identity (Equity Institute, 1995). Faculty raised with working class and poor backgrounds often feel forced to assimilate to the dominant norm of middle class culture (Tokarczyk and Fay, 1993). Many of these faculty do not want to give up their class culture and the beliefs and values that define their roots. Moreover, they don't want to feel isolated from their family and community. African American

feminist scholar, bell hooks (not capitalized), describes her own decision to publish *Ain't I a Woman? Black Women and Feminism*, with simple language and without footnotes, because after researching the subject, she found that working-class people tended not to read books with footnotes (hooks, 1993). hooks describes this as a political decision because she knew that it would be going against the norm and that she would risk losing an academic audience who might not consider her book scholarly enough (hooks, 1993, p. 108). This example demonstrates how faculty who differ from the dominant cultural norm are forced to be political in their jobs in ways that faculty who are similar to the norm do not necessarily have to be. In hooks' case, her book was well accepted by academics, despite its diversion from the norm.

Implications of Middle Class Culture Norm.

Interviews to date suggest that the class culture conflicts that result from this institution's middle class cultural norm can create feelings of isolation for the faculty member whose class upbringing differs from the middle class culture. One interviewee who reported being raised with a poor and working class background said that the social activities of the department are centered around fine dining and other costly activities that this faculty member cannot afford. In addition, this faculty member's research is on a controversial social topic which is often taboo to talk about within middle class culture. Consistent with middle class denial of controversy in society at large, departmental colleagues have refused to make this faculty member's course a part of the required degree curriculum despite its critical importance to the field. This culture of denial further contributes to the faculty member's feelings of isolation. Furthermore, this faculty

member reports having to teach in the summer as well as take on additional wage earning projects for financial reasons, and speculates that working in the summers will make it more difficult to have enough publications at the time of tenure review.

One underrepresented interviewee, identifying themselves as raised with wealthy class culture, reports experiencing conflict when a library employee refused to be flexible with library policy despite the fact that this inflexibility interfered with this faculty member's productivity and efficiency. Comparing this situation with experiences at an elite university, this faculty member expressed frustration because at an elite university the norm is to provide faculty members service, despite policy. In reference to this circumstance, the interviewee explains:

> So everything has to be the letter of the law, and life doesn't work that way. And life will never be efficient if you have to follow all these rules. That's my problem in my department, and that's my problem on this campus, is I am used to environments where people were willing to bend the rules in order to facilitate outcomes.

Data indicate that faculty with wealthy class backgrounds may also struggle with the norm of rank-based hierarchy, because if their norm is acting on expanded visions of possibilities, they may be less likely to pay credence to the norm of deferring to senior faculty. For example, this same faculty member illustrates, "...I am sure that exposure to privilege is what has made me realize when I am not being treated appropriately, and also that there is always a different way to do things. I never accept that this is the only way to do it." This type of class culture conflict can result in feelings of alienation and isolation, particularly from the Pygmalian dynamic perspective, where other departmental colleagues begin to see this interviewee as a trouble maker.

Individualism

Interviewees report patterns of behavior which characterize a norm of individualism. These include:

- Not talking about each others' research
- Allocating greater rewards for research and writing publishable documents than for teaching and service
- Diminishing interaction with students when pressed to do research
- Not having time for informal colleague interaction
- Not having adequate space once they arrived, or experiencing extraordinary delays in getting equipment and resources to do their work
- Perceiving that others look out for themselves in terms of obtaining resources, that a "survival of the fittest" mentality prevails
- Perceiving that getting help and direction for success and mentorship is one's own responsibility

The only time individualism does not appear to be the norm is during the job interview portion of the search process, where interviewees report examples of being socialized into a network of colleagues. They report that their initial campus job interviews typically consist of well planned and coordinated meetings and activities with departmental faculty, the department chair, and the dean of the school or college. One interviewee describes, "We have a breakfast with faculty, lunch with faculty, dinner with faculty. You meet the Dean and all kinds of people." This positive interview experience typically sets up an expectation that this institution is a caring environment. However, once these faculty arrived, they rarely experienced a continuation of the type of care derived from the coordinated efforts that created the positive interview experience. As one interviewee describes, "I didn't have as much support as I thought I would have...I guess I expected to

be invited to people's homes and that somebody would kind of help me. I was invited once, but for the most part I was pretty much isolated."

Based on the interviews, it appears that one form of resistance to individualism is the way in which some faculty form "journal" or "research" groups with other faculty from the same department, or from other nearby universities. Interviewees report that forming these groups allows for opportunities to bounce research ideas off each other, and also allows one to get to know other in ways that form community. "Once you get to know other people," reports one interviewee, "you begin to care about them."

Implications of Individualism

Underrepresented faculty members, particularly faculty of color, are often expected and sometimes explicitly asked to take on a role of community involvement in a way that is typically not asked of majority faculty members. Even so, during a third year review, one interviewee was told that the community outreach, although excellent, wouldn't be weighted as highly in tenure consideration as [the more individualism-based] journal publications, which were comparatively lacking.

Another example of how individualism makes it difficult for underrepresented faculty who may vary from the "norm" is that it takes time to get to know other people, particularly people who are different from oneself. Norms of individualism sanction the avoidance of taking the time to get to know new faculty, resulting in their experiencing isolation and lack of support. Interviews to date support the hypothesis that majority faculty, being more like their fellow colleagues than underrepresented faculty, have an

easier time building social networks and can therefore face norms of individualism without feeling isolated. One majority faculty describes his supportive experience"

> Well, when I got here...the senior person...in the area of my department, was very helpful in bending over backward to say,...'stay with me when you look for a place to live'...From that point it was very good. ...So there were certain people in the department that were very helpful...like asking me to go to lunch when I first got here.

Majority and underrepresented faculty both report delays in receiving the necessary equipment to work effectively. However, what was different between majority faculty and underrepresented faculty was that the lack of space and resources seem to contribute to the overall feeling of marginalization for underrepresented faculty, but not so for majority faculty. In reference to the delay in getting an office and computer equipment, one underrepresented faculty member describes, "You just swallow your pride, go along, and make do with what you can. You look at every situation and make the best of it."

Collegiality

According to Robert Birnbaum (1988), faculty collegiality often requires that group members have common values and that they do not deviate from group norms. To some degree, collegial atmospheres are therefore dependent on group conformity. Some examples of collegiality issues reported by interviewees include: situations where senior faculty within a department negate the notion that distinct sub-areas exist within the department; or where faculty have many superficial work relations and very few close friends; instances where a Department Chair maintains status quo by circumventing conversations about resource inequities in an attempt to avoid "making waves".

Implications of Collegiality

Although there are positive aspects of collegiality, such as de-emphasizing hierarchies and allowing all voices to be heard, there is significant pressure to conform to the perceived norm in order to maintain group membership. On the surface, collegiality may appear to contradict the norm of individualism because of the orientation towards group decision making and input. However, collegiality requires that one be individual only to the degree that he or she falls within the range of normal behavior and group values. This can be particularly problematic for faculty who differ from department cultural norms when facing tenure review. As one interviewee describes:

> It's scary. I'll tell you why it scares me...when this last person came up for tenure they said, 'Well you know, the most important thing about tenure is that they become one of us.' Oh man. Now in the context of everything I've told you...Holy Cow. I feel I am not perceived as one of them.

Furthermore, collegiality is consistent with individualism in that it serves as a self-preserving function, and should not be confused with caring for others who are different.

The Professor Image

When mentally conceiving an abstract image of a professor or university faculty, one common image that comes forth is that of a white, middle to late middle-aged, man, wearing a tweed jacket. This may not be our exact image, but it most often comes to mind before an image of a white woman in her twenties, or a woman or man of color at any age. Underrepresented faculty, whether they have an accent, have dark skin, or are female, often do not fit the image of the "normal" professor, and consequently they report that they experience being seen as inferior, "too uppity", and that they perceive that others

do not see them as qualified to be a professor. As one interviewee describes, "Unless you come in and you are a Nobel prize winner or something like that, you have to do above and beyond the call of duty...And people just do not perceive you and look at you the same, because there is this constant sort of thing in the back of people's minds whether they are conscious of it or not. They see inferiority there..."

Implications of the Professor Image.

If underrepresented faculty do not fit normal images of tenured faculty, and are seen as inferior because of this, then their work may be less valued as well. In addition, given the norm of individualism in this academic culture, it is essential for faculty members to take initiative to find out from their colleagues what is expected of them to be awarded tenure. Few of the underrepresented faculty expressed positive experiences with asking their colleagues questions, and when they did, it was with usually only one particular person they felt comfortable with. It is hypothesized that this may be a more difficult task for underrepresented faculty if they already feel negatively judged for not fitting the image of what is normal. One underrepresented interviewee explains why she hesitates to ask her colleagues questions:

> I use to go to one chair I had and I would ask him for his advise on things and he looked at me and said, 'You know when most people get their Ph.D. they think they've got all the answers'...he couldn't understand why I would ask all these questions...I was not the norm.

Furthermore, it is hypothesized in this study that because they already fit the image of the "normal" faculty member, majority faculty members have the luxury of being able to ask questions without being negatively stereotyped.

Importance of Publications and Grants

All interviewees report that being awarded grants and having research published far outweighs the value of teaching or service related activities within the promotion and tenure process. Although interviewees report that executive administrators at this university emphasize the importance that community service and teaching has to its mission, interviewees still perceive that grants and publications are most rewarded by departmental tenure committees. In reference to a discussion with the department's promotion and tenure committee, one interviewee explained, "When I told them that the Dean told me community service was important, they said they discourage that. They said publishing was...That I needed to drop all these activities."

Implication of the Importance of Publications and Grants.

The implications of this reward system norm overlap with many of the social interaction norms stated above. Also, because they are typically so few in numbers, underrepresented faculty have greater demands on their time for teaching, advising and departmental and campus-wide community service. Consistent with faculty retention literature (Menges and Exum, 1983), it is theorized that underrepresented faculty are disadvantaged by having less time for the more higher rewarded activities. This disadvantage may be further aggravated by the norm of untenured faculty silence, where interviewees report feeling like they cannot turn down requests for their time.

Inadequate Salaries

Interviewees report being dissatisfied with their salary at this institution. In some cases, interviewees report that they are dissatisfied because of salary inequities. One interviewee explains, "My colleague who was hired after me makes [substantially] more than I do. I am really [upset] about it, and I don't feel that I am paid what I am worth." Other interviewees who are in the position, or will soon be in the position, of supporting their families with their single salary also report that they feel their salaries are too low. When asked about the primary reason for staying at the institution, one underrepresented faculty answered, that she would not leave "[i]f they would raise my salary to the point that a family could live on." Depending on family circumstances, this underrepresented faculty may have to leave for better financial resources elsewhere.

Implication of Inadequate Salaries

For underrepresented faculty, inadequate salaries can create a strong motivation to leave the institution. One faculty member reports that if salary inequities in her department are not resolved, she would consider leaving even if she receives tenure. Inadequate salaries can be particularly detrimental to efforts to retain faculty of color. Interviews support that if faculty of color are not satisfied with their pay, this institution risks losing them because of the additional negative experiences of being located in a predominately white region. One interviewee reports that the lack of people of color in key "power" positions within the region makes it more difficult for faculty of color to develop the networks that would help them create programs and fund the research that is required of them to succeed. In addition, faculty of color can be uncomfortable with the

interpersonal climate if he or she drives outside of the immediate area of the campus. One faculty of color who left the institution explains, "I just didn't think that the opportunities were as great. And I felt somewhat isolated because [this region] isn't a very diverse [area]. And I just felt isolated anytime I would leave the city. And then, the package was weak." Although majority faculty report dissatisfaction with inadequate resources, such as not having travel money to attend conferences, they do not report dissatisfaction with salary or resentment about salary inequities. Thus, based on the interviews to date, it is suspected that inadequate salaries are just one more factor that contributes to a larger picture of why underrepresented faculty members might feel like they would be better off leaving the institution.

Preliminary Recommendations

Despite the negative implications that the previously discussed emerging norms have on underrepresented faculty, there are several ways this institution can take positive action to address these issues. The following preliminary recommendations are based on implications of the emerging norms of the interviews to date: 1) Change promotion and tenure policies so that teaching and service are equated equally with research; 2) hire more underrepresented faculty; 3) develop a statewide infrastructure; 4) improve class culture consciousness; 5) create a collective-based organization; 6) develop efforts of coordinated care; 7) create new roles for deans and department chairs; 8) expand faculty summer stipend initiatives; and 9) reduce pay inequities.

1) Change Promotion and Tenure Policies:

A major policy implication of this study is to redefine promotion and tenure guidelines so that teaching and service are weighted equally with research (see Rice, 1991). It is recommended that efforts to redefine faculty reward systems be initiated separately from underrepresented faculty retention issues (Black Issues in Higher Education, 1995). Otherwise, the redefining of tenure and promotion systems risks being equated with lowering the quality of scholarship because underrepresented faculty are targets of negative prejudices and stereotypes.

2) Hire More Underrepresented Faculty:

Hiring more underrepresented faculty will aid underrepresented faculty retention by building communities with critical masses that have greater influence on the cultural changes that need to occur to provide more accommodating and inclusive university environments.

3) Develop a Statewide Infrastructure:

Meeting with other state agencies to develop an infrastructure that better supports faculty of color would help. For example, hiring more people of color into statewide high-profile positions increases the chances that faculty of color will be networked into grant and program development opportunities. Establishing a foundation with a staff of grant proposal writers to work with faculty involved with community services or social justice issues would create an infrastructure for new funding opportunities.

4) Improve Class Culture Consciousness.

Tenure and promotion committees should be particularly aware of how class culture differences can impact faculty members' tenure and promotion success. They should look for ways to reward faculty who have a collective or group orientation, often characteristic of poor and working class cultures, that varies from the dominant individual orientation, typically characteristic of middle and wealthy (and Anglo) class cultures.

5) Create a Collective-Based Organization:

Efforts toward collective-based organization could include: structuring faculty meetings so that there are opportunities for small group interaction; developing departmental faculty forums where presenters are required to conduct and present their research in teams; offering benefits such as travel money to team presenters; and, coordinating team teaching opportunities.

6) Develop Efforts of Coordinated Care:

This should be done by continuing the same level of coordinated support that typically occurs during the job interview process for a specific time period after the new employee arrives. *Coordinated care* requires two principles: 1) that "care" is planned and not left to happen by chance, and, 2) that more than one person is responsible to carry it out. Such efforts can help to network new faculty and prevent or reduce their potential feelings of isolation. One example of coordinated care could be creating a month-long

sign-up sheet where department faculty, staff and students sign-up for one or two days to acknowledge and support the new faculty member (Welton and Brown, 1995).

7) Create New Roles for Deans and Department Chairs.

Deans and department chairs are pivotal change agents (Kinnick, 1994). Inform them about how social interaction norms and promotion and tenure norms potentially marginalize underrepresented faculty, and the critical role they can play in preventing such marginalization.

8) Expand Faculty Summer Stipend Initiatives.

Summer stipends free up the untenured faculty members' time for writing grant proposals and publications. This is particularly important for untenured faculty who are the sole supporters of their family and who otherwise have to dedicate valuable summer writing time towards teaching for summer income. When allocating summer stipends, pay particularly close attention to the underrepresented faculty who may have more demands on their time throughout the year for committee-work, advising, and community-work.

9) Reduce Pay Inequities

One concrete step to reducing the problem of pay inequities is to prioritize the allocation of funds specifically towards reducing pay inequities without being tied to other merit funds. If this cannot be done immediately, plan smaller allocations in each year's budget to save up for making these funds available on a specific target date. In the mean

time, conduct a campus-wide study on pay inequities among faculty and specifically look for inequities between majority and underrepresented faculty.

Conclusion

Based on the emerging norms thus far and the implications of these norms, it is strongly suspected that the social interaction norms and reward system norms at this predominantly white, public urban university impact majority and underrepresented faculty differently. It is further suspected that these norms, in fact, marginalize underrepresented faculty. The more faculty differ from a given norm, the more they are negatively impacted, whether by feelings of isolation or limitations to getting tenure. In addition, underrepresented faculty often feel the need to stand up for social justice issues because they have personally experienced social injustices themselves. After all, it is institutional racism, sexism and other isms that make underrepresented faculty so few in numbers to begin with. Consequently, underrepresented faculty tend to be overwhelmed by the norm of untenured faculty silence.

There are many actions that universities can take to support underrepresented faculty. Two simple solutions would be first to hire more underrepresented faculty to build a critical mass of people that have a greater influence on the cultural changes that need to occur, and second, to adopt efforts of coordinated care to compensate for individualism norms and to prevent feelings of isolation. One of most critical actions a campus can do is to change promotion and tenure so that teaching and service are weighted equally with research. Although there are strong indications that

underrepresented faculty experience social interaction and reward system norms differently than majority faculty, this study is not yet complete and additional interviewing is necessary before making final analysis and recommendations.

Appendix A (Original Protocol)

The Impact of Social Interaction and Reward System Norms on Faculty Satisfaction, and Advancement.
Purpose: Improving --- faculty satisfaction and advancement.

INTERACTION AND SOCIALIZATION:(look for: norms of interaction (individual -cooperative - interdisciplinary-supportive -honest informal -formal-authority, etc.), how they learned the ropes, (including influence of doct. program experience), feelings of marginalization and/or belonging)

Tell me how you came to --- and what it was like when you got here.

**What was your impression of --- during your recruitment experience?

**How did this compare with your experience when you got here?

****Can you think of one or two events that stand out when you think back to your earlier contacts with individuals at --- and in your first year?

Describe what your interactions with other faculty were like when you first got here and in the early period. (dept., campus-wide, discipline-wide)

Describe your interactions as you moved into your second and third years.

What are these interactions like today?

Are these typical?

****What are meetings with other faculty like? (dept., campus-wide, off-campus)

Can you think of one or two experiences that you have had that have helped you develop professionally.

Have you had other important experiences like this?

****What relationships are most important to you in your work.

How might these relate to your satisfaction and/or advancement?

PROMOTION AND TENURE: (look for: positive/negative experiences, cultural conflicts and fit with norm (including how describe success), guidance and feedback, link with social interaction piece, change of values)

Describe your experiences with the promotion and tenure process.

****How did you learn about how the P&T process works at ---?

How do you prepare for an annual review?

Describe to me your understanding of what is expected of you to be successful.

***What type of accomplishments are most rewarded in your department?

How do you see your performance in relation to your department's expectations?

***How do you feel about the feedback you receive on your performance?

Describe experiences where your values conflicted or aligned with your department's values...your school's values...your institution's values.

If --- changes its promotion and tenure guidelines so that faculty develop a scholarly agenda and identify how their individual activities should be weighted in the evaluation process, how would your department respond to this change?

Describe what kinds of faculty development you would benefit from.

RETENTION

If you were to consider leaving ---, what would be the primary reason for leaving?

****What would be the primary reason for staying?

What do you like best about ---?

FEEDBACK

Are there relevant questions that I did not ask that you think I should be asking?

****What is your reaction to the questions I have asked you?

Sample of Follow-Up Protocol

4/8/96 FURTHER QUESTIONS/CLARIFICATIONS

One thing we talked about was your ability to ask questions...You said you felt comfortable asking "outrageous" questions even in the face of a probable "no." What would be an example of an outrageous request?

> **How does this feeling that it is okay to ask questions relate to you feeling supported or satisfied with your job?**

You mentioned that "people don't like to think you have "areas" in the department," why is that?

One thing we talked about was how untenured faculty need to watch what they speak out about so that they don't make too many waves...What would be an example of something that is important enough to speak out on and risk making problems or hard feelings? [Describe any situations that you have like this?]

> **You said you didn't think that you had sold-out by not speaking up on an important issue...what would it mean to sell-out?**
>
> **Do you see your work relating to social justice issues?**

I wanted to ask about class issues and find out if faculty at --- experience class culture conflict...How would you describe your class background and how would you compare it with your perception of the class culture at ---?

What kind of work family conflicts do you experience?

Do you give up anything personally to do your job, and if so what?

Updated Protocol For Future Interviews

How did you come to --- and what was it like when you got here?

Can you think of one or two events that stand out when you think about your early --- experiences? How about later --- experiences?

How did this compare with your recruitment experience?

How would you describe your typical relations with other Faculty? What would be an example of an atypical relation?

What are faculty meetings like?

What relationships were most critical to your satisfaction? Do you feel like you have a colleague(s) that you can go to for help and ask questions? How did these relationships impact your satisfaction?

Do you feel free to bring up controversial issues? Can you describe a scenario? What issues would you speak out about?

What about you helps you make the best of your situation?

What were colleague relationships like before having tenure? Has having tenure impacted or changed the dynamic of your relationships or satisfaction with work?

I wanted to ask about socio-economic class issues and find out if faculty at --- experience class culture conflict...How would you describe your class background and how would you compare it with your perception of the class culture at ---?

What was your experience like with the promotion and tenure process? How did you get feedback on your performance?

How do your values conflict or align with the school's values?

What about --- do you like?

If you were to leave ---, would would be the reason why?

What does --- need to learn... in what ways can it improve?

Are there relevant questions that I did not ask that you think I should be asking?

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